[101 cont.]

231

Dillon (p. 393) did not learn of this, and perhaps the former merely happened to come in a period when pigs were taboo (cf. the passage in Lesson at the end of the footnote). But according to Dillon, p. 170, and D'Urville, pp. 188, 216, and 356 (Sainson), the number of tame pigs on Vanikoro was small, and Dillon says wild ones, or most likely pigs that had run wild, were also present. Cf. also Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270.

262 Turtles are caught with
[225 252 574 554] nets; catching and consuming them -- they, too, are steamed in the oven -- is an event for the whole village. The fortunate catcher, who strengthens his social position by the feast which he gives the community, hangs the skulls of the animals in his house as mementos (5). Flying mammals are also

5. Dillon, pp. 239 f., 273. F. de Tolna, pp. 273 f. (also the skulls of pigs). According to Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270, their consumption is a monopoly of the chiefs.

eaten (6). Mussels and crabs are part of the daily sustenance (7).

6. Dewar, p. 248.

7. Joest in Baessler, p. 86. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 270.

Poultry is seldom or never eaten, perhaps for totemistic reasons. [231] Although chickens are kept as domestic animals on Ndeni -- they are tied by one foot to a post or a block of coral -- they are very rarely eaten, and their eggs never; only their feathers [237] are used as a head decoration.

[130 cont.] at the signal of their leader (Ndeni, 642 "Taurike"; Taumako, "Taliken"), the natives took up arms 648 against the strangers and laying them aside, supplied the Spaniards with food, in fact, even abandoned a village when Torres and his people wanted to establish themselves there. Malope, the friend of Mendana, enjoyed especially great esteem, and his murder by Spanish soldiers was the signal for a general revolt. The chief of Taumako, Tamay, interceded for four of his subjects whom Quiros dragged off to use as interpreters. On his first formal visit, Malope, who was accompanied by two respected [554] natives, wore blue, yellow, and red feathers in his hair as a sign of distinction. Tamay used his bow as a staff (1). Since that

1. Dalrymple, pp. 79, 81, 86 f., 128. Then cf. Labillardière, p. 260.

642 time the importance of the chiefs seems to have diminished on [178] Ndeni and to have entirely disappeared in parts of the island. To be sure, Dillon and Coote mention chiefs; the former re- [622 ports that as a rule each village has its chief, although some- 634] times one rules over four or five villages. Lamoa, the chief [622] of the village visited by Dillon, seemed to enjoy some authority among his subordinates. The occupants of the dance areas, of whom Codrington speaks, are probably likewise chiefs (2). On

2. Dillon, pp. 299, 314. Coote, p. 159. Codrington, p. 333. Markham, p. 145, mentions chiefs on Nukapu.

the other hand, Joest does not mention chiefs, nor are they mentioned in the reports of natives translated by O'Ferrall, although taboos are mentioned in them. D'Urville and Dillon 622 found the chief-system highly developed on Vanikoro, probably as a result of the considerable Polynesian influence from Tikopia. [171] Evidently a true chief's or prince's position in the Polynesian [565] sense existed here. Gaimard lists quite a number of persons

[130 cont.] Gaimard lists quite a number of persons
622 [565] in each settlement, besides the actual village chief, who belong to the rank of chief. The chiefs -- it is not noted whether all of them or only the village chiefs, probably all, in view of what will presently be said about taboos -- enjoy religious respect, are the mediators with the atua. Dillon ascribes special religious standing to Moembe, the chief of Maneve. The chiefs of the [565] entire group constituted a closed corporation, which did not take part in the quarrels of their subjects. Their esteem [131] ex-[628] tended also to the inhabitants of neighboring villages to such an extent that they induced people who were at war with each other to separate and were able to bring about the return of prisoners. [576] One village had a female chief (1). A sign of esteem is hand-

1. Dillon, pp. 153, 177, 193 f., 232, 266 (according to p. 177, the wife and daughter of a chief not only wore the bark belt, but also the breast disk of the men, but no ornaments in their short hair). D'Urville, pp. 135, 149, 172 f., 176, 183, etc. Quoy, ibid., p. 317. Sainson, ibid., p. 356 (he maintains that only the chiefs may eat pigs). Gaimard, ibid., pp. 323 ff., 327 f., 347 f.

[576] kissing, that is to say, probably the touching of the back of the hand with the nose (2).

2. D'Urville, pp. 175, 188.

622 784 [264] One of the principal functions of chiefdom in Polynesia is the taboo. On Vanikoro, refuse from the meals of a chief is taboo, wholly in the Polynesian manner, and is therefore tossed into the sea. On the other hand, only chiefs are not affected by the taboo that lies on any kind of object; for instance, they may enter tabooed areas without taking special precautions,

[145 cont.] Joest,
304 contrary to Dillon, says that circumcision is not customary on Ndeni (3).

3. Dillon, p. 314. Joest in Baessler, p. 378. On the basis of our present knowledge, local differences cannot be excluded with absolute certainty.

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684 On Ndeni premarital intercourse between the sexes is not practiced, according to Joest, but rather is punished by death, perhaps because originally, with the local organization, it was
548 identical with incest (4). On the other hand, prostitution is
567

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 386; Tagebuch, p. 63.

associated with the life in the bachelors' houses and also in related areas of the culture. Three or four men buy a girl for feather money, usually a child, because children are still cheap, and, for the same reason, a child is chosen preferably from a small kin group because each relative demands a share of the purchase price. After she has reached maturity, the girl is used and provided for jointly by the buyers, as well as hired out
[436] in exchange for feather money, pigs, or coconuts. The proceeds are divided in proportion to the amount contributed toward the purchase price. The girl gets none of it, but she is well
[554] provided for, is the social equal of the other women, and even enjoys the privileges of living in the bachelors' house, which the other women may not enter. The buyers do not have the right to kill her; the entire village would avenge the murder. When the buyers are tired of the girl, they take her to another village and auction her off, which is always an important event for the populace. Eventual children belong to all the buyers

/163 cont./

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where the pendant of the chain hangs down the back; Utupua, Ethn., I, p. 93, Fig. 22; Vanikoro, Ethn., I, p. 86 and Coombe, pl. accompanying p. 170). -- For another type of hip-cord with the shell disks gradually becoming smaller toward the ends, see Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 166, No. 6.]

/164/ [In isolated instances there are necklaces made of twisted strips of bast with the ends hanging down (cf. Fig. 2).

[824] A necklace made of black fruit-disks has been documented for Taumako, one of the Duff Islands (cf. Fig. 7) (1). /Fig. 7 appears here./

1. [Concerning a neck cord with amulets, see below, p. 121.]

It appears that the breastplate of Tridacna [Ethn., I, p. 80, Fig. 8] (2) may be worn only after clothing has been donned;

2. [Sometimes the string that holds it

[825] is decorated on the front side with cowrie-like snail shells; see, for example, Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 162, No. 1, and an old, magnificent specimen in the Städtischen Museum in Brunswick.]

at least I never saw a boy adorned with one (3). In general,

3. [Coombe, p. 175, like Markham,

[55A] says that the breastplate is a symbol of rank.]

wearing the plate seems to be on the decline, for only a few men put them on, and then they were usually simple plates without

/177 cont./

535 sure, there also seem to be dance areas closely connected with the residence-village (for example, on Tumotu: Coombe, plate accompanying p. 168); perhaps these are the so-called women's dance area, which sometimes (on Pileni, for example) is found along with the men's dance area (Coombe, pp. 202 f.), although in the photograph from Tumotu only men and boys are seen on it.]

is stamped hard, and it is bounded by a ring of thin plates of coral stuck into the ground. According to Coombe, p. 178, the [514] possession of a dance area requires lavish hospitality for guests who come there, for whom a dance /Fig. 16 appears here/ festival must also be arranged. Thus only wealthy people can ●[554] maintain dance areas; [they are therefore sometimes ownerless].

On a terrace near the men's house one not infrequently 312 finds a hot spring, a round hole about one and a half meters deep, walled with /178/ coral stones (1). A few small fish are

1. [Cf. Ethn., I, p. 98. Speiser, Südsee, p. 197. Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 107, mention the springs of the Reef Islands and the walls around them to prevent children and pigs from falling in.]

usually kept in it, so that, if they die, it is known that the water has become contaminated.

514 The natural functions are performed on the shore in the tidal area. Men and women have separate places in the coral; the men urinate in a squatting position; the women are said to do so standing.

514 In order to announce one's arrival in a strange village, he coughs or clears his throat audibly.

438 could purvey her services as a prostitute, sell her outright or even kill her [595] without fear of retaliation. None of these [548] things could be done with wives. But since the purchase price of a concubine was 10 times higher than a bride price, selling a girl into concubinage had its attractions for many Reef Island families. The British Government has forbidden the practice, but Reef Island [177] women still go south as wives. Their [583] bride prices are the main source of currency for their home islands. An im- [554] ported wife brings extra prestige to a Santa Cruz man, and bride prices for Reef women run about twice as high as they do for domestic wives.

The Duff Islanders get their feather currency not by selling women but by building large sailing canoes that carry on interisland traffic in passengers and cargo. The men of the Duffs do not engage in that traffic themselves; they sell [437] the canoes for feather currency to the [505] people of a few of the western Reef Islands, who in turn specialize in voyaging and trading throughout the islands. These mariners sail even to the southern islands of Utupua and Vanikoro in search of trade. The two islands are outside the feather-currency area, but their people until recently depended on the [436] canoes to bring them the shell disks and lengths of woven cloth they used as currency. For these precious items they [437] traded, at fixed rates, packets of red honey eater feathers, and these were resold on Santa Cruz to the makers of feather currency. In this manner the two different money systems became interlocked and interdependent, and the economies of north and south remain so today, even though there is no longer any traffic in currency materials.

177 Since the end of World War II the
436 Santa Cruz monetary system has come under pressure from the world outside. More and more Australian money has flowed into the islands; it circulates along with the feather currency and is completely interchangeable with it. Today the rate of exchange is roughly one shilling for a piece of feather money of minimum value. This makes the par value of a No. 1 piece 512 shillings, or about 25 Australian pounds. Figured in [464] terms of labor (at the prevailing net wage rate for unskilled labor in the central Solomons, where most Santa Cruz men work at some point in their lives), the value of a new piece of currency is roughly comparable: about 20 to 24 pounds.

458 Plantation wages have nearly trebled
177 since 1945. The great increase in the

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market. 495 436

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all--women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives--ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions. 438 [595] [548] [583] [554]

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained. [162]

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands. [896] [505] [436] [184]

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom. 177

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned [464]